THE WORKERS'
DREADNOUGHT
For International Socialism.

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THE DAIL EIREANN.

"The Ft. Leavenworth Soviet."

"A meeting of prisoners in one of the wings of the military prison during the greatl strike in late December. Austin Simons is speaking:

"Commit no violence," he is saying, "but stand like this, with folded arms! A man who stands like this cannot be conquered."

The picture was drawn by Maurice Becker, a C. O. serving a 25-year sentence, who took part in the strike. He has since been released."

"Come in, of course there's always a way in for you! Maud, don't put any of that wax on the floor or the people will be falling over it." It is the Lord Mayor, simple and kindly, who welcomes as guests the visitors to the Dail.

In the great round room of the Mansion House, the maids are still dusting the seats whilst the people are beginning to assemble. Occupying about a quarter of the floor in front of the platform are easy chairs and sofas, covered with a light tapestry, which look as though they had been brought from the drawing-room; they are reserved for members of the Dail. The remainder of the floor is fitted with stiff leather chairs and wooden benches.

Presently, a detachment from the volunteer army comes marching in, halts, marking time, the footsteps ringing loud and unexpected. In meticulous military order, its members, wearing their workaday clothes with white armlets, dispose themselves at intervals around the room.

Gradually the hall fills till there is not a seat available. Women form a large proportion of the audience; there is a sprinkling of priests, and soldiers, including many British, Colonial and American; several escaped Sinn Fein prisoners, amongst them Barton, the first of that company who climbed over the wall of Mountjoy prison in broad daylight. The majority of those present belong to the middle class, but there are manual workers amongst them, and over there to the left are Bill O'Brien and Tom Johnson of the Labour Party. It is an animated crowd, eagerly discussing.

Suddenly, everyone rises, clapping; the Mayor and the American delegates are entering. Again the gathering rises, and there are cheers, shriller than English cheers, with almost the sound of a scream in them. The Members of Parliament who were elected under the pledge not to go to Westminster, but to take their seats in the Dail, have arrived; De Valera, President of the Irish Republic, tall and pale, and looking very tired. Then Arthur Griffith, reputed to be at once the most reactionary and the most decided of the prominent Sinn Feiners of to-day—the man who provides the driving force in Sinn Fein policy. He is the Editor of *Nationality*, the Sinn Fein organ, and the Home Secretary in the Dail Eireann. When we saw him at the Sinn Fein Headquarters in Harcourt Street two days ago, he looked middle-aged, almost elderly. To-day, he appears quite young, flushed, spruce and erect. He took no part in the Rebellion which made the Dail Eireann possible. He was at home in Easter week; nevertheless, he is said to be now the Controller of Sinn Fein policy. After him follow old Count Plunkett and Constance Markievicz in the uniform of the Irish Volunteers. It is whispered that as the Members of Parliament went up the steps of the Mansion House, a policeman in plain clothes, a G man as they say here, seized one of them to arrest him as an escaped prisoner; but the crowd snatched the prisoner away, and he passed in. Of that incident we shall hear more presently, but the proceedings are calm enough at present, and so long drawn out, that they become exceedingly dull.

The "Deputy Speaker"—there is a decided Parliamentary flavour about the Dail, though there is no mace—mounts the platform with a clerk on either side of him, and two at a table below. The official language of the Dail is Irish. Announcements are made in it, then translated into English. The roll is called in Irish. Members who are able to do it begin their speeches with a few words of Irish. This struggle to recover the lost language is pathetic, though it lends an air of artificiality to the proceedings. At the close of each speech, and from time to time during its progress, the audience rises clapping, and sometimes cheering.

A motion is made and carried with acclamation to admit the Irish-American delegates, who are on their way to plead the Irish cause at the Peace Conference, to "the Floor of the House." They have been sitting just behind the area of the sofas; De Valera now leads them into the centre amid a crescendo of applause.

The "Deputy Speaker" says that each public session of the Dail has been marked by a welcome; at the first session the few newly elected members, who were not in prison, were welcomed by the people of Dublin; at the second, their colleagues who had escaped or been released from British dungeons were welcomed; and now to the third session had come the American delegates.

President De Valera read the official speech of welcome "as the chief representative of the Irish Nation." He is by no means a remarkable speaker. One could imagine he dislikes the platform. He is said to have been chosen as President for his bravery in the Rebellion. He was a school teacher, but he is referred to rather as a military leader than as a thinker. He greeted the American Delegates as representatives of the greatest branch of the Irish race, and of all true lovers of liberty in America, hoping that would include all America, and that America would not treat the official assurance of President Wilson regarding small nations as "a scrap of paper." The success of the American rebellion against England had been the precurser of the Republican idea in Europe and in Ireland itself. Therefore, of all the many combinations in which the American flag had recently been found, he thought none so appropriate as that with the flag of the Irish Republic. The American delegates had seen for themselves the almost unanimous desire of the Irish for independence; the elections had shown it. With the exception of the Unionists, few in number, those who were not immediately arrayed under the Republican banner, hesitated, not because they desired the English connection, but because they feared that the British Empire would never allow Ireland to be completely free.

The burden of Arthur Griffith's speech was that under English rule during the 70 years between 1841 and 1914 the population of Ireland, and the number of homesteads, had greatly decreased. He called on a number of his colleagues to give the figures regarding populations and homesteads in their constituencies. Other oppressed nations, said Griffith, had suffered nationally, but had gained in prosperity; for instance, Poland and Bohemia. Ireland had suffered in both directions. If she had been under Russian rule she might now have had a population of 24,000,000; if she had been under Prussian rule, her population might have been 12,000,000 people. Ulster was spoken of as prosperous but, except in the city of Belfast, the population and homesteads had declined even there. Belfast had gained some prosperity because Wolff, an enterprising German, had started a shipbuilding industry there. The decay in population, Griffith insisted, had been caused by the English political weapon, and he quoted an ancient leader in the *Times*, in which it was said: "The Celts are gone with a vengeance; the Lord be praised!" Griffith would have the world believe that Ireland's troubles arose solely from a strange disinterested desire of England to exterminate the Irish people. He ignores the fact that the operations of landlordism and commerce are ruthless in all countries, and that not only the Irish, but also the English country districts, have been depopulated during the years in question. When Ireland gets her Republic, Griffith does not propose to give the land to the people, to socialise the railways and industry; his one solution of the Irish problem is to build up tariff walls to enable Irish growers and manufacturers to undersell foreign importers.

Michael Collins, the Secretary for Finance, complained that Ireland had been overtaxed at the passage of the Act of Union, and that the proportion of Irish taxation had since been greatly increased. The cost of putting down the Insurrection of 1798 had been charged to Ireland, and every act of rebellion since, as well as the maintenance of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and the Army of Occupation in Ireland. Ireland's national debt at the time of the Union was 16,000,000*l.* England remitted that, but made Ireland shoulder 28,000,000*l.* of the English national debt. The Act of Union had provided that no income tax should be imposed in Ireland, but Gladstone had imposed an income tax and also spirit duties. (It is difficult to know how anyone can oppose an income tax to-day; for our part we want to see the confiscation of capital). Lord Farrah's commission—a Unionist Commission—had declared that Ireland's taxable capacity was only 1-20th that of Britain, but her taxes amounted to 1-11th.

Professor John M'Neill complained of the corruption and injustice of Dublin Castle rule. He cited the case of the kidnapped child of eleven years, brought from Tipperary, and kept in the training centre of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and, as he alleged, brought three times a week before the highest authorities in Dublin Castle for

Continued on page 1330.

THE COMMUNIST ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

By Albert Lantos.*
(*A Soviet official in Budapest.*)

All new ideas must overcome many prejudices. The idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat must eliminate false ideas about democracy.

Contemporary society consists of many classes, which are placed in different economic positions. If in some land there is a true political democracy, if by the law every one is equal, every one possesses the right to vote; yet the social influence of the capitalists is, however, decidedly greater than that of the wage-earners, for economical reasons. The social influence of economic values can only be eliminated by the common ownership of capital (including the land).

The dictatorship of the proletariat is only an institution (or instrument) to establish the Communist economic system. That is why only wage-earners and soldiers have political rights. Together they form the Soviets which are the political organs of the proletarian state. Capitalists who employ wage-earners, independent business men, stockbrokers, &c., and lunatics have not any political rights. *But they can easily acquire political rights.* They must forfeit all capital, not engage in useless work, but fruitful labour—then they will soon have political rights. The dictatorship, which only serves the purpose of establishing Communism, cannot give rights (*i.e.*, social influence) to those who evidently do not desire a Communistic society. If by any chance a capitalist should be found who is a follower of Communism he can insist upon communising his capital, and afterwards he can become a member of the Soviet as a worker.

The dictatorship is a class rule, the same as the present society. Now the capitalist class reigns, but in the Soviet Republic the proletariat will reign. But the proletariat does not exploit the bourgeois class the same as the bourgeois class exploited the wage-earners under a capitalist dictatorship. In the Soviet Republic the ruling class, the proletariat, does not live upon the work of the bourgeoisie. If there is any economical exploitation during the dictatorship of the proletariat, the exploiters are only the capitalists whose capital has not yet been socialised.

The dictatorship of the proletariat ceases automatically, because the dictatorship suppresses the classes, and consequently suppresses the class rule. The dictatorship socialises capital, and thus the capitalists become workers, in the ranks of their former wage-earners. As the socialisation of capital extends so the number of capitalists decreases, and when the socialisation will be completely realised, there will not be any more capitalists. Thus the two classes and the class rule will be abolished; and thus the dictatorship of the proletariat will be at an end.

* One of the leaders of the Communist Party of Hungary, and the soul of the IDO Federation of Socialists. He was arrested for his communist agitation, and was liberated three days before the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, March 21, 1919. This article was written in prison.

RUSSIAN NEWS.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE SOVIETS.

The *Isvestia*, the organ of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Soviet Government, February 15th, 1919, publishes the following most important statement which shows that the Allies are endeavouring to force the Germans to fight Bolshevism:—

"Nauen, February 13th: The German representatives of the Armistice Commission at Spa have handed in a note from the German Government which says that on January 25th Field-Marshal Foch demanded free transit for Polish troops to Grodno and beyond, in order to repulse the Bolsheviki.

"*At the same time Foch pointed out to the German Government that it does not offer any opposition to Bolshevism, and proposed that it should unite and come to an agreement with the Poles.* At present the German Government maintains that the transit of Polish troops had led to a rising of the Lithuanians, and the White Russians who are resisting the handing over of non-Polish territories to the Poles, and the seizure by the Bolsheviki of some of these territories, notwithstanding that the regularisation of the political status of these former Russian regions is entirely within the jurisdiction of the Peace Conference. Further, the German Government points out that the Polish power of resistance against the Bolsheviki is very insignificant, in view of the spread of Bolshevist ideas in the Polish army. For this reason Polish operations against the Bolsheviki are viewed with great distrust by the Lithuanians and White Russians. At the demand of Marshal Foch, the German troops had to evacuate Vilno, which was occupied by the Poles, but in a few days the Poles were driven out of Vilno by the very efficient forces of the Russian Red Army. Under these circumstances Germany refuses to assume responsibility for what may result from Marshal Foch's demands.

ORENBURG COSSACKS SUPPORT SOVIET POWER.

"Orenburg, February 12th. The Conference of the liberated Cossack villages of the Orenburg army unanimously adopted the following resolution on the question of the recognition of the Soviet Government: 'To recognise the Soviet Power as expressing the will of the people and constituting its defence; to put into force immediately all the Soviet decrees and regulations; to arrest all those who were implicated in intrigues against the Soviet power, and to hand them over to the Extraordinary Army Commission which will deal with these elements with the full rigour of the law; to pay damages at the expense of the village profiteers who had fled with Dutov, to those members of the Red Army and supporters of the Soviet Government who had incurred losses at the hands of Dutov and his followers.'

"The Conference further decided to send a proclamation to the Cossacks who had followed Dutov, as they feared reprisals on the part of the Red Army. It declared that the Red Army and the Soviet Government had been maligned by the White Guard officers, and that, contrary to the statements of the latter, the Cossacks have been treated like brothers, and there had been no interference with the internal affairs of the Cossack villages. Finally, the Conference called upon those who had gone away to return to their native villages and to take part in the organisation of village life.

"The proclamation was signed by all those who were present, *i.e.*, eight delegates representing thirty-seven Cossack villages, and was to be distributed among Dutov's followers. The Conference wired fraternal greetings to the Don and Orenburg Cossacks.

REIGN OF TERROR.

"Kharkov, February 8th. News has been received from Rostov that, on hearing that the Cossack front had been broken by the Red Army, and that large masses of Cossacks had gone over to the Soviet troops, Krasnov issued an 'Ukas' hurling maledictions at the traitors and threatening them with severe punishment. Denikin is mobilising the recruits of 1910-1914 classes in the Black Sea and Stavropol counties and in the Kuban region. Social and political life on the Don is quite extinct. The reign of terror has reached appalling proportions. Merciless treatment is meted out to workers and members of socialist parties. Domiciliary visits and arrests on a large scale are proceeding in working-class districts. Even legally recognised unions and the Plakhanov Workers' Club have suffered persecution. The masses of the population are awaiting the advent of the Soviet troops to liberate them from Krasnov's reaction. In his proclamation to the population Krasnov states that the Allies and the Don Cossacks intend to convene a Moscow Congress of elected representatives of the Russian people which will decide if Russia should be governed by a Czar or by an elected president."

IN THE UKRAINE.

"Kiev, Feburary 8th. *Odesskiie Novosti* (*Odessa News*) reports that in Kherson the power is now in the hands of the revolutionary committee. Hetman Grigoriev has assured the committee that his troops, which are fighting for the Soviet Government in the Ukraine, will give their support to the Committee."

(From The People's Russian Information Bureau, 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.)

SHOW YOUR COLOURS!

To the Editor The Workers' Dreadnought

Dear Comrade,—We ask for space in which to give a brief exposition of the reasons that are leading us at this juncture to resign membership of the I.L.P. and the B.S.P. In so far as we have any personal feeling in the matter, it is one of profound regret at having to sever ourselves from organisations in which so many valued comrades remain at work. This said let us confine ourselves to principles.

I. Apart altogether from the question of sovietist *versus* parliamentary tactics, we incline to the view that the purely political type of socialist organisation has outlived its usefulness. The political, social, and educative functions that have attached to such bodies in the past, will (so we believe) in the future be branches of the activity of the new type of industrial organisation. Upon the workers' committees and shop stewards' movement, therefore, we wish to concentrate such time as we can spare for public work. We would suggest, further, that the new periodicals issued by the various workers' committees afford an interesting indication of the growth of the new movement and that these sheets are likely to replace, as means of effective revolutionary propaganda the older and more sedate party and trade union official organs.

II. We consider that the second International is not merely dead, but damned. We are convinced that the success of the working-class movement (or, in other words, that the complete overthrow of capitalism) is inseparately connected with the success of the new Red or Moscow International. The I.L.P. supports the Berne International, and cannot get futher than "a refusal to condemn Lenin." The B.S.P., better advised, goes so far as to refer to the branch the question of adhesion to the Communist International. (Were this the sole issue, we should await the result of the referendum before withdrawing from the B.S.P.)

III. The absolutely vital question, however, is that of affiliation to the Labour Party. There is a hopeless divergence between those who expect to realise socialism through parliamentary democracy, and those who expect to realise it through communist ergatocracy—the administration of the workers, by the workers, for the workers—with (as a preliminary stage) the dictatorship of the revolutionary proletariat exercised through workers' committees or soviets. Here is the crux, and no pious resolutions of sympathy with our Russian comrades can veil the fact that, after the Easter conferences of 1919—four years after Zimmerwald, and eighteen months after the bolshevist revolution—the I.L.P. and the B.S.P. remain affiliated to the Labour Party, and therefore remain committed to parliamentary methods.

To sum up. The conferences at Huddersfield and Sheffield have shown that neither the I.L.P. nor the B.S.P. has adequately realised that the world stands at the threshold of a new era. Not merely do they fail to grasp the necessity of new tactics for the social revolution, but they even fail to perceive that the revolution for which we have so long been working is actually in progress. Half-measures are no longer possible. The cry is: "Show your colours!"

For the undersigned, the only practicable "socialist unity" is the unified activity of the revolutionary left wing.—Yours fraternally,

Eden and Cedar Paul.

GENERAL STRIKE IN U.S.

INDEPENDENCE DAY, JULY 4.

TO FREE TOM MOONEY AND BILLINGS SENTENCED TO LIFE.

Meetings wanted by JACK MOONEY to tell about the "FRAME UP LABOUR SYSTEM" IN CALIFORNIA.

Terms: EXPENSES.

7, Staple Inn Buildings, Holborn, c/o "London Trades Council."

TOM MOONEY.

Jack Mooney writes that the death sentence upon his brother Tom was commuted to penal servitude for life on November 29th, 1918, it is believed, as an outcome of the general strike which had been fixed for November 29th, 1918. On January 14th, 1919, a thousand delegates from labour organisations in every city in America met in Chicago as a result of which a referendum vote is being taken for a general strike for the release of Mooney and his fellow prisoners to take effect on July 4th.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

GIVING THEM THE STUFF.

Everybody is talking Peace Terms to-day. I retired into my favourite vegetarian restaurant and, being Friday, I ordered a grilled codfish served with sauce à la Clemenceau. But the following phrase haunted me as it haunted hundreds of other people. It ran thusly: "Germany to restore within six months the skull of Sultan Mkwawa, formerly in German East Africa, to His Britannic Majesty's Government."

What a dilemma! Supposing, when all was said and done and the Germans were willing to sign, they found some one had mislaid old Mkwawa's skull, in good condition, equal to new? Would it be permissible, as it is to the local shopkeeper, to offer one "just as good" when the real article was out of stock?

I am aware, of course, that it would be a trifle embarrassing when Gabriel plays "Christians (and other foredoomed souls), awake!" and friend Mkwawa had to hunt round for his skull. I do not precisely know how he could look for it if he had nothing to look with.

But why Mkwawa's skull in particular? Why not demand old Yorick's skull as well—the only genuine one, of course, no stage "property"? Why not the actual jawbone of an ass with which Samson slew all those dreadful Philistine people?

Or perhaps the corpse of the Mahdi? Perhaps you have forgotten the war we had once somewhere around Omdurman? Look up 'The River War,' vol. ii. p. 222, first edition:—

"The Mahdi's tomb had been for more than ten years the most sacred and holy thing that the people of the Soudan knew. Their miserable lives had perhaps been brightened, perhaps in some way ennobled, by the contemplation of something which they did not quite understand, but which they believed exerted a protecting influence. By Sir H. (afterwards Lord) Kitchener's orders the tomb has been profaned and razed to the ground. The corpse of the Mahdi was dug up. The head was separated from the body; the limbs and trunk were flung into the Nile. Such was the chivalry of the conquerors."

And the author? None but Winnie Churchill of Antwerp, Gallipoli, and Sydney Street, E.1.

It may be somewhat difficult to produce the whole Mahdi's corpse, as the most of it may have drifted down in time to form the chief menu of the crocodiles in the Nile. We can only hope they shed tears over it.

Turn we now to Bambaata. These native names are so difficult of spelling, they get the strangle-hold on my typewriter. But as with Mkwawa, so with Bambaata. All hail, great (and unpronounceable) chiefs!

In August of 1906 the respectable, and therefore veracious, *Daily News* prints a letter from a British officer to his mother, recording the progress of events in the campaign against the Zulu chief Bambaata:—

"About 9 o'clock A.M. Mudhlogozulu, the paramount chief approached carrying a white flag. Some two or three hundred accompanied him. He arrived a few yards in front of a sergeant and explained that he wanted to give in. THE REPLY, OF COURSE, WAS A BULLET THAT MUST HAVE SENT HIS BRAINS SOME FIFTY YARDS OFF. His followers, who were now far too terrorised to use their weapons, stood back and shrieked for mercy. Mercy came quicker than expected—IN THE SHAPE OF A MAXIM. SEVERAL WOMEN WERE AMONG THE SLAIN AS WELL AS A LOT OF YOUNG BOYS."

We wonder if the brains of Mudhlogozulu will have to be produced in time for the Peace terms. It might take more than six months, however, to learn how to pronounce his name correctly. We cannot be too careful of details. Still, however, Mudhlogy's skull should not be hard to find. The above-mentioned officer concludes his letter thus:—

"We carried the head with us for about a week, when it was dissected, and the skull will probably be made into a nice tobacco jar for some one. I THINK IT IS THE FINEST PICNIC I HAVE EVER BEEN AT."

It must have been. But we have yet to hear the idea of the natives as to the amount of ferocious enjoyment they derived from the playful ways of British officers in Zululand in 1906.

"The general way of dispatching prisoners is to take them out of camp and tell them to run away into the bush. They only get about twenty yards or so when a bullet reaches them, and, of course, it is "Good-bye, John,' for them."

Of course! What delightful phrasing! What relish! What taste! There is nothing on earth so polished as that vile thing sometimes so misnamed "an officer and a *gentleman*."

Let us move on. Egypt this time. You will have heard a great deal of that country lately and how totally the natives misunderstand our good intent. You will also have heard of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt. This is what he says in 'Atrocities of British Rule in Egypt':—

"On a cross solidly constructed at fifteen paces from the gibbet they are preparing the punishment of flagellation. The first sufferer strips to his waist, passes his head in the iron collar, and on his bare torso the kurbash descends rhythmically to the sound of the voice that counts the blows. The bronze skin tumefies, spilts in places, the blood spurts out; it is sickening, horrible. A second man who succeeds him cries out still more desperately. The third one is literally contorted under the lash; he loses consciousness. Meanwhile the man hanged has given up the ghost. The second condemned follows with the same assured step as his predecessor. The executions continue. The floggings go remorselessly on; the new ropes redden as they lash into the flesh. Yusef huseyn's legs, in the hanging, are broken. Mohammed Gorbashi is undressed, crucified, and flogged fifty lashes. He gets maddened on receiving the twelfth. His voice is not well heard, for a soldier is ordered to press his head down in the opening of the cross again. While Mohammed Dervish Yohran is hanged, the executioner puts the rope round his neck and administers it wrongly. The condemned man is not strangled well, so he cries out on the cruelty of the world."

Perhaps if only we applied this firm and beneficent rule to Ireland, who knows but that it would solve the age-long problem of that distressful country. Especially if, as in Egypt.

"THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ORDERED THAT THE RELATIVES OF THOSE PUNISHED IN THIS WAY SHOULD BE COMPELLED TO WITNESS THE SPECTACLE, AND THEY WERE BROUGHT UP UNDER ARMED ESCORT."

It seems a cheap, and sure, way. Give 'em the Kurbash!

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By F. P.

NATIONALISATION.

During the last week or so we have seen many bureaucratic schemes of nationalisation of the mines put forward by Webb & Co., which prompt the miner to ask what right has anybody other than the men who work in the industry to decide upon the future administration of the mines. Intelligent men realise that the Commission is bourgeois in character and is only concerned with the perpetuation of the system of private ownership. My opinion is that the Commission will see to it that the principle of private property is not sacrificed, and that if any innovations are necessary to the stability of Capitalism the Commission will seek to establish them with the least inconvenience to the owners of Capital. This can be clearly seen through the desire of the Commission to give adequate compensation to the owners of land and mines so nationalised. If this principle is admitted, then private property of land and mines is not assailed by one iota, but it is strengthened by ownership on the part of the State—or the whole of the ruling class. There is no doubt about it that the principle of compensation will be granted, and if the amount of compensation be large enough, then mine owners and landowners need not be worse off, but will have the opportunity of being better off. It is suggested that the owners be given stock on the purchase price of the lands and mines, which will bear interest on the basis of present-day Government stock. What does that mean? It means that instead of private owners receiving dividends, which is accompanied with many ups and downs, they are assured of a steady unearned income by drawing annually large sums of money in the form of interest, without in the least reducing the interest-bearing stock. This stock will be handed down to their heirs—unless Socialism intervenes—and they in turn will live an idle life on the comfortable interest afforded. And this system is named the abolition of private ownership of mines, land and minerals. The intelligent section of the South Wales miners can easily see through the game, and realise that if the miners will not be up and doing, then there is no hope of the Commission doing anything that will jeopardise the chances of Capitalists extracting as large a surplus value as they possibly can. Whether the coal mines are controlled by private Capitalists or by a larger body incorporated in the State, the fundamental evil remains; that the workers who alone do all the work, are exploited by an idle class that does nothing but live on the labour of others. Under private ownership, so called, the surplus product of the miner goes straight to the pockets of the Capitalists, while under Nationalisation the State takes over the surplus product and hands it over to the Capitalists. It is obvious that to the miner the result in both instances, is the same: he is still bearing the burden of maintaining an idle-class. Nationalisation, it may be true, has advantages, but when it is suggested that it means the overthrow of the system of exploitation it is not true.

The miners of South Wales have long ago thought over this question, and steps are now being taken by the Rhondda section of the Industrial Workers Committee to publish in pamphlet form their expressed views on the future conduct of the mining industry. The men working in the mines will decide how the industry is to be worked and not any other outside body. The miners are slowly, but surely, usurping control, that will end in not mere Nationalisation, but the complete overthrow of private property relations. No system of control by Act of Parliament will decide which way the mines are to be worked; the Soviet system, from the bottom up, alone will suffice. The Minimum Wage Act of 1912 laid down the conditions under which the miner should be paid, but in the greater part of South Wales, the spirit and letter of the Act is now a "dead dog." Why? Simply because the economic strength of the Miners' Organisation has dictated its own conditions of pay and overridden the letter of the law. The same will happen to any system of control dictated from above—from the State.

Miners wake up! and demand not merely Nationalisation that leaves untouched the cause of poverty, explosions, long hours and many other evils, but demand complete ownership and control of the mines which you yourselves have made. Fight hard against the principle of compensation to mine-owners for they have already been too well compensated. Do you know they have already received back in dividends the money originally put into the mines, so that now the mines, including all the machinery, are really yours?

OUTPUT AGAIN.

The miners of one pit in the Rhondda Valley struck work on the 8th of May against the refusal of the Management to give work to a number of returning soldiers. The reason given by the Management was that they did not intend to start any men because the output of coal was decreasing. What a result: increased number of men with a decreased output, which means if anything at all, a decrease of individual output per man. It is gratifying to hear that some workers are beginning to believe that they were put on this planet to work in order to live, and not live in order to work, which unfortunately is generally the belief of working men. The men were enthusiastic in compelling the Management to give work to all returning soldiers, and they, the bosses, will knuckle down, unless they wish for trouble.

FALLACIES OF BOLSHEVISM.

Socialists of the Rhondda have been having a good time lately during the visit of a lecturer (?) under the auspices of the Unionist Association. He has been announced to speak at open-air meetings on a very imposing subject: 'The Fallacies of Bolshevism exposed.' These particulars are given to enable other Socialists who want a night's enjoyment cheaply, to pick out this very able man when he manages to drop at their town. Suffice it to say that this lecturer knew nothing at all about Bolshevism (not even about the atrocities!) which made it very difficult for him to find a "fallacy." His meeting was taken over by the Red-flaggers who explained what Bolshevism was and after two renderings of the Red Flag and three ringing cheers for International Socialism, the Fallacies of anti-Bolshevism were exposed. Many of the Red flaggers are regretting their action, for never more will there be any anti-Bolshevik unionists to knock the bottom out of. Here's to the lecturer's courage and audacity.]

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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A ROBBERS' PEACE.

ATTEMPT TO ENSLAVE THE GERMAN WORKERS.

The Peace of the Paris Conference is one of unbridled greed. The booty seized by each of the Allied Governments seems to have been limited only by the competing claims of their colleagues, and the smaller and weaker members of the concert are all protesting against their treatment. China especially is groaning under the infringements of her territory and liberties by Japan. Italy has not yet decided whether to rebel.

The peace treaty is iniquitous in every respect. Even the Labour Charter is a sham; its provisions, which are out of date in the countries where the working class is organised, are specially withheld from the backward countries, like India and Japan, where they would be an advance. Moreover, the international machinery created for dealing with Labour questions is so constituted that it may be employed as a reactionary force.

The League of Nations is most undemocratic in its constitution. It is a League of Capitalist Governments which we expect to see used to fight the growth of working class communism in every country. Moreover, it is not a world-embracing League of Nations; it is merely another sectional alliance; an alliance in which the real power is held by a group of five powerful nations, amongst which Britain, France, and America predominate. Italy may leave at any time, and we should not be surprised to see Japan out of it also. In spite of all the resolutions that have been made concerning democratic control foreign policy remains the close preserve of the self same clique which took us into war!

President Wilson's terms, on the basis of which Germany laid down her arms, and on the credit of which the Allied Governments claimed the support of the Allied peoples, have been violated. The Allies, who protested that they were not fighting for territory, are taking away all Germany's overseas possessions; 30,000 miles of German soil and 6,674,000 German people are to be annexed to other nations without counting 8,600 miles and 1,100,000 people expected to be severed from Germany as a result of a plebiscite in East Prussia and Schleswig.

But these seizures of territory are small and insignificant matters compared with the cruel scientific gluttony with which the Allies are preparing, as it were, to pick the very bones of Germany for wealth, in cash or in kind, that can be found in her, and to make slave labourers of her people. The Allied Governments make war on the German capitalists it is true; but on the German workers they make still sterner war. Thus, in handing the mines of the Saar basin to France they stipulate that the German Government must indemnify the German mine owners. That means that the German people, as a whole, must pay for the loss. The Allies do not wish to encourage confiscation from the capitalist without compensation in any country on any pretext!

The Saar territory is to be governed by a Commission appointed by the League of Nations, consisting of five members; an inhabitant of the district, a Frenchman, and three representatives from other countries. We see no opportunity for the workers to secure representation on this Commission. The Commission will have the power of local taxation and may modify the existing law after *consultation* with a local representative assembly, *which it will organise.* Such an assembly will certainly not be a Soviet; it will be powerless and existing on sufferance only. The people will have power to vote only for local assemblies. After fifteen years a plebiscite will be taken as to the future of the district.

The Constitution of Danzig, which is to become a Free City, is to be drawn up by a High Commissioner appointed by the League of Nations. Again every precaution will be taken against the workers. Danzig is to be called a free city, but it seems that it will really be a Polish city over which the League of Nations will have some control.

A vote is to be taken in Northern Schleswig and portions of Central Schleswig to determine the nationality of the peoples. An ominous provision is that the "Workers' and Soldiers' Councils in the zone must be dissolved." That sounds like the reverse of freedom and self-determination. We want to know on what franchise the vote is to be taken and whether Allied Governments will clear out of Schleswig and leave it to manage its own affairs as soon as the vote is taken. The voting is to be in charge of an International Commission of five members, of whom the Governments of Norway and Sweden will appoint two.

Regarding Russia, Germany is to accept the annulment of the Brest Litovsk Treaty and any Treaties and Agreements concluded with Russia since the Revolution of November, 1917. "The Allies reserve all rights on the part of Russia for restitution and satisfaction to be obtained from Germany." That means that the Russian Soviets may not benefit from the cancelling of German annexations, but that the Allies may seize the liberated territories, and any agreements which have been made by Germany to send to Russia commodities urgently required by her people, may be to be broken. The blockade, if the Allies have their way, will be able to be enforced from the German side also in order to crush Socialism in Russia. German troops are to remain in Russian territory till the Allies tell them to go. We suppose they may be told to fight the Soviets.

Germany not only loses all her overseas possessions but all German property therein, and all her rights in overseas trade and financial agreements are cancelled. Her foreign credits are all abolished; she retains only her debts. Even those of her ocean cables which the Allies desire to use are taken from her.

Foreign Treaties to which Germany was a party, like the Act of Algeciras concerning Morocco, are either annulled, or Germany is crushed out. She was co-guarantor for the independence of Morocco, and is ousted from that position by the Powers which have gobbled up Morocco. She is warned off any interference with British dominion over Egypt and is deprived of any voice in the affairs of any of the subject peoples in Africa and elsewhere. This is a matter of some importance. The German people have had a Revolution; they have deposed the Kaiser. After Russia, Hungary, and perhaps Austria, Germany now possesses the most democratic Government in the world. We cannot regard any compromise with Capitalism as satisfactory; we desire the total abolition of the Parliamentary system of Government and the substitution of the Soviets; but, in spite of Noske's violent coercion we cannot fail to recognise that the German Government has taken some steps towards Socialisation, and has given some official place in the Councils of the nation to the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils; that it has made a more generous response to the needs of the masses than any of the Allied capitalist Governments, and that the growing Spartacist pressure prevents it treading easily the way of reaction. The German Government of to-day is the ideal Government of the British Labour Party and of the Majority Labour and Socialist Parties of Europe and the Berne International. It is a strange thing that any group of reactionary capitalist Governments can so bamboozle the peoples of the world as to induce them to tolerate the German Republican Government being crushed out of all international questions, particularly those which concern the exploitation of defenceless labourers by rapacious foreign concessionaires!

The great Powers have always insisted that their nationals residing within the territory of weaker nations should be above the law of those nations and under the special protection of their own national State. In Egypt, Morocco, and other subject countries, German subjects are now deprived of this right and of the concessions they gained there.

Germany is not yet altogether dismembered and divided amongst the conquering Powers, but by the Peace Treaty she is reduced to a state of complete subjection. The Treaty obliges her to agree to abolish compulsory military service "in German territory," and to incorporate voluntary recruiting into German law "providing for the enlistment of non-commissioned officers and men for a period of not less than twelve consecutive years, and stipulating that officers shall serve for twenty-five years and shall not be retired until the age of forty-five"; the very details of the legislation are forced upon her! The army is to consist of 100,000 men, including not more than 4,000 officers. The armaments to be allowed to Germany are to be fixed by schedule; even the number of rounds of ammunition is prescribed. No poison gas, liquid fire, armoured cars or tanks are to be imported or manufactured. We have seen no declaration that the Allies are themselves abandoning these inhuman instruments. Some of them, at least, are brought out for use if occasion arises even within the British Isles.* Germany is even prohibited from nationalising the armaments allowed to her, for the Government arsenals are to be suppressed. German armament firms may not make for foreign countries, and armaments may not be imported. Germany is to have no armed airships, submarines, minesweepers, or seaplanes, the number of her battleships is fixed; her navy is limited to 15,000, including 1,500 officers, recruited under the conditions laid down for the army. Naval armaments are also strictly prescribed. The Allies are determined to guard against all risks of their victim retaliating and a strong Red Army or Navy arising in Germany.

We have heard of "Red Terrors" and "White Terrors." We expect to hear now of an "Allied Terror." The Kaiser is to be extradited and tried by judges from the five great Powers. This is a sop to the more bloodthirsty elements in the Allied democracies. A contemptible act since the man is shorn of his power but relatively unimportant; for, after all, the Kaiser has but one life to lose, and millions have been hastened out of existence by the war in which he played one of the prominent parts. Much more serious and terrible is the decision to set up Allied Military Tribunals to try all and sundry who are "accused of acts of violation of the laws and customs of war," and to allow any particular Allied Power to set up such Tribunals of its own. The German people are indeed to be punished, both collectively and severally, for the misdeeds of their own rulers and of all the rulers!

But those articles of the Treaty which are entitled 'Reparation and Restitution' most plainly reveal how the German people are to be ground down under the heel of the conquering capitalists and bled without mercy to make them richer. Germany must pledge herself to pay whatever the Allied Governments may demand for every conceivable form of injury, and having given that pledge, her oppressed people are not to be told the amount of their indebtedness till 1921.

It is intended that the debt shall be paid in thirty years, but the period may be extended according to the will of a Commission of Allied Shylocks whose expenses the German people

*Dublin and Glasgow.

Continued on page 1329.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

KING GEORGE'S LETTER TO ARCHDUKE.

The Times Budapest correspondent says that a British officer bearing a letter from King George to the Archduke Joseph asked Bela Kun's permission to deliver, and was allowed to do so after a day's delay, during which the Archduke's clothes, which had been taken from him as he lay ill in bed, had been restored. The story of the clothes seems a little far fetched, but we are not concerned about it. What we are concerned about is the letter. The Archduke Joseph is supposed to be an enemy: the war was supposed to be caused by the group of autocratic families to which the Archduke belongs: it was supposed to be a war of democracies against autocracies. And yet now that the Hungarian democracy has taken control we find a British officer carrying a letter from King George to one of the enemy Archdukes!

It is another instance added to the many which go to prove that rulers forget all their previous assurances in the struggle against the rule of the workers.

AUSTALIAN DISCONTENT.

In an encounter between police armed with bayonets and ball cartridge and the dock workers of Freemantle, a discharged soldier was wounded. Discharged soldiers have threatened to avenge the injury with machine guns.

AN APPEAL TO THE QUEEN.

The appeal made by Mr. Frank Briant, M.P. for North Lambeth to Queen Mary to inspect the bad housing in his constituency, is a curious sign of the times. The King is supposed to be merely a figure head; the Queen to be without power. Mr. Briant is making this appeal because he finds himself unable to do anything at Westminster. The moral of it is to change Parliament for the Soviets and to abolish Capitalism which has created and maintains the conditions described by Mr. Briant.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND.

On Wednesday, May 7th, there was formally inaugurated in Belfast, the above party in answer to the growing demands of revolutionary Irish workers for a party which would put the demands of the revolutionaries upon an organised footing. The aims and methods of the party are stated with concise brevity, i.e., "the overthrow of capitalism and establishment of Socialism in Ireland" by means of "direct and revolutionary action upon the industrial and political field."

HUNGARIAN SOVIETS' GROWING STRENGTH.

The Times Budapest correspondent laments that the Soviet Government in Budapest is growing stronger.

THE TYROL AND SELF-DETERMINATION.

Innsbruck, May 4th.—The Tyrolese Diet has accepted a resolution instructing the Government to make known to the Peace Conference in Paris, that the Tyrol has decided to use the right of self-determination promised on several occasions by President Wilson, to proclaim itself a free democratic and neutral state. Otherwise the Tyrol will have no alternative but to unite with Germany. *La Feuille* (Geneva, May 5th).

This is of great interest in view of the peace terms to be offered to Austria. They allocate the Tyrol to Italy!

IN ANNEXED LORRAINE.

10,000 Miners on Strike.

Eugène Jacquemin, district delegate of the C.G.T. in *L'Humanité*, May 10th, gives the following particulars of the strike in Lorraine:—Since April 3rd. 10,000 miners from the Petite Roisselle coal-mine are on strike. Under the German occupation they were paid in marks (1*s.*); now they are prid in francs (9½*d.*). Their wages have been, therefore, reduced 25 per cent. They demand an increase to 18 francs a day; they now receive 13 francs. The military authority refuses to allow them to hold meetings. M. Mirman, the High Commissioner of Metz, when asked by the strikers to intervene, answered that it was not in his district, but he promised to try to obtain permission from the Ministry of Reconstruction to intervene. Since this promise was made the strikers have heard no more. The military authorities do not only prohibit strike meetings, but, in order to break the strike more completely, they place military labour at the disposal of the employers. Our Lorraine comrades complain bitterly. They were not treated thus under the German Government; it never interfered in the disputes, and the employers left to their own resources, were forced by the workers' resistance to capitulate sooner. Our comrades complain that the present Government has done nothing to try to settle the dispute. They also complain of the unedifying behaviour of the officers and bourgeois in the district, which does not redound to the good repute of the morals of the army.

While refusing to enter into negotiations with the strikers, the employers of Messrs. Wendel are scouring the Palatinate and Prussia for miners, to whom they offer 18 francs a day and a bonus of 400 francs. If the Government permits this scandal, in order to break the claims of the Lorraine workers, it will have many difficulties to face. The proletariat will not allow the miners of Petite-Roisselle to be crushed. If the warning is not heeded, in a few days there will be a general strike throughout the Lorraine basin.

CENTRAL LABOUR COLLEGE.

Examinations are now being held to decide the students for entrance into the Labour College at London. The S.W.M.F. is giving eight scholarships, and separate districts are giving scholarships. The Railwaymen are doing the same, so this is a hopeful sign for the future. Never has there been such a rush of applicants, and it is significant that the Rhondda polls the largest number. The South Wales miners believe in the maxim, Educate, agitate, organise!

MORE JOBS!

The Whitley Councils for gas and electricity are the thirty-second and thirty-third such bodies that have been formed. Each one provides a number of soft jobs for Labour leaders!

* * *

The Times reports that Koltchak's Russian soldiers are wearing British uniforms and equipment and *Reuter* telegraphs that British and French war ships are patrolling the Gulf of Finland.

A ROBBERS' PEACE.

(Continued from page 1328.)

must pay. The first payment of 20,000,000,000 marks is to be made within two years; 40,000,000,000 marks before 1926 and 40,000,000,000 marks later. Germany exacted £400,000,000 from France in 1871. It was declared to be a very brutal indemnity. This £5,000,000,000 is not all that Germany is to pay! The payment is to be made in gold, goods, ships, or whatever the Commission may direct. The Commission will examine the taxes levied upon the German people to insure that the Allied pound of flesh shall be the first charge on the German revenue and

"to satisfy itself that in general the German scheme of taxation is fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the Powers represented on the Commission." If Germany does not pay up, the Allies may make "economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals, and in general such other measures as the respective Governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances."

In short, the German people are to be taxed by the Allies! This is really a terrible proposal. So closes the war of democracy; how the people are mocked! America, Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium will each have a representative on the Commission: all the other Allied Powers are to be represented, but without votes. The Germans are to restore to the Allies, ton for ton, and class for class, all shipping lost or damaged in the war. All German merchant ships over 1,600 tons and half the ships between 1,600 and 1,000 tons, and one-quarter of the fishing boats, are at once to be seized.

Moreover, the workers in the German shipyards are to build 200,000 tons of shipping for the Allies every year for five years. These, we suppose, will be sold cheaply to Allied shipping firms, who will be able to dismiss large numbers of British workers in consequence.

It has been said that the unemployment steadily growing in this country, will presently be stopped by the opportunities of work which will arise when the damage wrought during the war comes to be restored. But the German workers are expected to repair the damage. Germany is to supply animals, machinery, and so on; and to manufacture the materials required for reconstruction. That stipulation strikes a blow at the hope of a boom in British engineering and other industries. Whilst the German workers, robbed of a great part of their earnings by the Allied indemnity gatherers, as well as by payments to Germany's own money-lending capitalists, are bearing the laborious burden of reconstruction, the British and other Allied workers will be facing high prices and a shortage of employment. Socialism presents the only hope of salvation, and Socialism means a Revolution.

The Allies take by the Treaty wide power over German customs, fishing rights, and so on, as well as over German railways and waterways. Germany is pushed off the Danube Commission: if the Allies wish to have a Rhine-Danube canal made, it must be done; if Belgium wants a Rhine-Meuse canal, the Germans must construct the part of it that falls within German territory. The Germans must lease the harbours of Hamburg and Stettin to the Czecho-Slovak Republic for ninety-nine years. France, having established herself in German territory on the left bank of the Rhine, may make canals there; but Germany may not make canals on the right bank. Germany must fit her rolling stock with apparatus allowing of its being incorporated in Allied goods trains. Allied Commissions are to arrange for the building of new railways. Germany is to obey Allied instructions for the transport of troops, material, munitions, food, &c., and for postal and telegraph services. Inter-Allied Commissions are to modify the German laws.

The army of occupation may remain for fifteen years. It seems to us that if the Allies should change their minds, as they did regarding the armistice terms, and decide to remain in permanent occupation, they will be able to do so, if they are able to enforce these terms! After fifteen years it is likely [to be said, as it is of Ireland, Egypt, and India, that the German people are unfitted for self-government!

THE WAR WITH RUSSIA!

You must understand what it is about, and how it affects you!

Therefore read

LENIN'S VIEWS ON THE REVOLUTION, 3*d.*

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ABOUT RUSSIA. By Albert Rhys Williams, 4*d.*

THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA. By Arthur Ransome, 4*d*

SOVIETS OR PARLIAMENT. By Bukharin, 1*d.*

RED RUSSIA. By John Reed, 6*d.*

SELF EDUCATION OF THE WORKERS. By Lunacharski, giving some account of educational work in Russia, 2*d.*

RED FUNERAL IN VLADIVOSTOK. By Albert Rhys Williams, 2*d.*

HANDS OFF RUSSIA. By Israel Zangwill, 2*d.*

HOUSING AND THE WORKERS' REVOLUTION. By E. Sylvia Pankhurst, 6*d.* (Gives a Summary of the achievements of the Soviet Republic.)

Other subjects:

REBEL IRELAND. By E. Sylvia Pankhurst, P. Lynch and M. O'Callaghan, 3*d.*

INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS EDUCATION. By Cedar and Eden Paul, 6*d.*

Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3. *Special terms for quantities.*

It seems that, whether the German Government decides to sign, or not to sign these terms, Germany must enter the alliance of the Soviet Republics. If the Germans refuse to sign, the Allies will attack; the Germans will then, it seems to us, be forced to ally themselves with the Soviets, and Lenin's Government will only agree to an alliance with a Communist Germany governed by Workers' and Soldiers' Councils on the Soviet plan. If the German Government signs, it seems certain that the people will overthrow the Government and, rallying to the Spartacists, establish a Soviet Government. There is another possibility—that the Russian reactionaries and the German reactionaries should combine to fight the Allies, for the Russian reactionaries must realise that to Allied capital they are merely useful tools. Such an attempt, if made, would be defeated by the workers, who would combine under Bolshevism.

Wake up, British workers, and take your stand with the Soviets!

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE DAIL EIREANN

Continued from front page.

examination. When, by the provisions of Habeas Corpus, the child's release had been secured, the Lord Chief Justice had asked for an affidavit as to why the child had been taken, and had indicated that he would sit until the affidavit was forthcoming. When the affidavit at last appeared, the Lord Chief Justice had described it as "lacking in candour." Coming from any other source, it would have been plainly called perjury.

Jury-packing, the Professor said, was only obsolete in so far as trial by jury was obsolete. *Selection of venue* was used to secure a jury from a panel which could be depended on by the prosecution, and was also used to inflame Protestant and Catholic Ireland against each other. He also complained of *packing the bench* and the employment of *agents provocateurs*. He said that an American aerodrome in Ireland had been invaded; when the invaders were surprised, it was found that under the long overcoats they had assumed for the purpose, were the uniforms of the Royal Irish Constabulary. Had they not been discovered, another Sinn Fein outrage would have been announced! The Professor said it was strange that men of distinguished University careers could preside over the corruption which characterised Dublin Castle rule, but it was impossible to believe these things were done without their knowledge, and he thought it impossible for them to be patrons of rascality in Dublin Castle and honest men in the West End of London.

Constance Markievicz had been deputed to deal with the sufferings of Labour under British rule, but there was no time for Labour!

Then the American delegates spoke; indeed, they did! One thought that their prolific flow of florid oratory would never cease. They talked much nonsense. They led us again and again through the history of the founding of the American Republic, the struggle with England, the freeing of the negroes, and so on; but on one thing they were definite: Ireland must become an independent republic. They even suggested that Americans had not been able to feel a full measure of enthusiasm for the Irish cause until Ireland had declared for the Republican form of Government.

Walsh, who spoke first, is a lawyer, and a member of the Democratic Party; he is spoken of in connection with the Presidency now that Wilson is nearing the end of the period during which a man may be president. He said that the Irish question was not a domestic question between England and Ireland, for "no great wrong inflicted by one nation on another is a domestic question." Ireland had done with all talk of Dominion Home Rule, she must have an independence like that secured by the American Bill of Rights. "We are here," he declared, "to ask our powerful Government to say that President De Valera, Arthur Griffith and Count Plunkett—who have been elected to represent a Government chosen by the overwhelming majority of the people of Ireland—may be permitted to proceed to the Paris Peace Conference." He did not believe the request would be denied. He believed that Ireland's independence would be granted.

Ex-Governor Dunne, an elderly man, spoke with commendable brevity. Ireland was the first nation since the war to take a plebiscite on the question of self-determination, and that plebiscite had declared for a republic. The delegates had come to demand a hearing of Ireland's claim. Irish Americans had waited patiently for the mention of Ireland in the peace negotiations. At last they had called a great convention in Washington to go to Paris in support of Ireland's claim. Mr. Ryan, a banker of Philadelphia, made the longest speech of all.

The American delegates spoke with great determination, they seemed confident of their power to achieve success, but they have not yet been to Paris! Promises and fair words slide easily from the tongues of demagogues, amongst whom American demagogues are in the forefront. It was difficult to take the rhetoric of Walsh at all seriously after his statement that Americans had been driven into the war by the thought that the invader's foot might press on their sacred soil, and that Texas and Arizona might be divided amongst the victors in the war."

After a sitting extending from 11 A.M. till after 4 P.M., we were wearied indeed by speeches, and we longed for the Soviets which assemble, not for speech making, but for constructive work. Yet all must admit that the Dail is a wonderful evidence of faith and solidarity of a people faced by an overwhelming military power.

* * * *

THE MILITARY INTERVENE!

The visitors and members of the Dail flocked out, talking with eager animation; but shortly, they are hurrying back again; an alarm is raised, the Military are out and are raiding the Mansion House in search of the escaped prisoners, some of whom are Members of the Dail! A cordon of soldiers has been drawn up across the Stephens Green end of Dawson Street, and another some distance down the street, the Mansion House being enclosed between the two. The soldiers belong to a Wiltshire regiment—short, half-grown lads with schoolboy faces; they have guns with bayonets affixed. In front of them are the Irish Constabulary, who speak roughly to the people. Between the two lines of soldiers, a machine-gun mounted on a motor with two young officers on top, parades slowly up and down. Soldiers are massed about the door of the Mansion House which is being searched (and it is said also the adjoining houses) for the ex-prisoners who were present to-day at the Dail.

A big crowd has gathered and is growing rapidly. The police prevent all but authorised persons from passing the cordon. People are talking of the prisoners, hoping they have escaped; the sister of one of them is here, taking it bravely, managing to be cheerful and almost concealing her anxiety. A boy reproaches one of the soldiers for doing this sort of work; a policeman overhearing, hustles the boy to the outskirts of the crowd. A ragged little child is pushed by the policeman; a woman protests; the policeman spins her round, and, pushing her, harries her through the people with angry words. Gradually comes a faint murmur of the forbidden "Soldiers' Song," a snatch of it here and there—no one could say who is singing it. That song has produced baton and bayonet charges in the past. Gradually the sound of it grows stronger, but it is a mere flicker of a song, always dying away a few bars after it begins.

Women are talking to the soldiers: "Don't you hate doing this?"

The youngsters are eager to excuse themselves: "We hope we won't have to do anything."

"Those things look very dangerous, and if you were told to push us away you might hurt us, even without meaning to."

"It can stab you and shoot you at the same time, but I won't use it on women, whatever happens."

"It's as bad to use it to unarmed men."

"I shall be glad to be in civies again."

"I didn't sign on for this; I signed on for the war."

A sergeant intervenes: "You must not talk to the civilians."

But the talking continues.

Then an officer approaches and calls one of the soldiers to him: "You must not talk to the civilians." The women move away.

There is a great cheering. An open motor-car arrives flying the Irish and American flags. "The American delegates!" It is Mr. Walsh with President de Valera and Constance Markievicz, who are coming to the Lord Mayor's reception at the Mansion House.

The crowd presses close to the car behind and on either side. In front a way is opened for it. The people join hands to keep it open.

The inspector of police steps forward, raising his hand to stop the car.

The officer has spoken to the soldiers; they are stooping a little and bending forward, their guns, with those cruel bayonets, held ready for the charge.

The car moves forward a little, slowly, slowly. The officer speaks to one of the soldiers; he fires—one shot, loud and startling.

The car has stopped short.

The police are hustling the people backward. The people give way a few paces, then stand firm.

What is to happen next? If the car goes forward the soldiers will charge with those weapons that "can stab you and shoot at the same time" for such a trivial cause! One can understand that the military would take such awful steps if the people were attacking with force the seats of Government; if they were looting the banks; if the military were really afraid for their own safety. But to attack this peaceable crowd because the American delegates are pressing through to the Lord Mayor's Party, and because the crowd wants them to go through. Who would have thought this possible!

Mr. Walsh has left the motor; he has reached the cordon, and is talking to the officers. He passes through the cordon; the crowd cheers.

It is said that the officers have given him leave to pass, but *not* with De Valera! Another car drives up. Mr. Dunne and Mr. Ryan have also arrived. Mr. Walsh comes back; there is much parleying and negotiation. Finally word comes through the crowd that at the request of the American guests the Lord Mayor's reception may take place.

But the military are very slow in their withdrawal. The soldiers at considerable intervals are gradually packed into motor lorries, which drive through the crowd, the soldiers looking out behind at the people, who hoot them without anger. The soldiers are so young, and obviously so anxious not to be taken seriously.

At last the forces of law and order are withdrawn, and only now can the guests go forward to the reception. Two policemen remain watching the Mansion House from a discreet distance.

The men the police were searching for have not been caught, they are all at the reception. As the night wears on, Members of the Dail come out and address the crowd which has gathered outside, too vast to enter. No authority interferes, though such assemblies are forbidden. Finally, as the guests begin to leave, volunteers arrange a gangway through the crowd and it is afterwards maintained by general consent.

Of course, it is said that the action of the military was arranged in the Kildare Street Unionist Club, but that Lord French, fearing America might take it as an insult, telephoned for the troops to withdraw. The general verdict is that the affair was conveniently staged to give the American delegates an impression of British Rule in Ireland. To cap the military display, the delegates have been refused permission to visit Westport on the ground that it is a disturbed area under special military rule! E. S. P.

SERBIA AND THE SOVIETS.

BY A SERBIAN SOCIALIST.

More than a third of the Serbian population succumbed during the Great War. The Western world should not forget the dire tragedy of this small nation. The Serbian peasants died, innocent victims, in order that imperialistic and capitalistic greed should triumph.

Owing to the poverty arising out of the war it will be impossible in future to work profitably the fertile land of Serbia. The peasants will not be able to buy the necessary modern implements and machinery to make good their past losses. They are so weighted with debt, so poverty stricken that any move forward is out of question.

On the other hand, capitalists, both Serbian and foreign, are preparing to exploit them still further, taking advantage of their hopeless condition.

Serbian capitalists intend to form large agricultural trusts, and Allied capitalists have their eyes on the rich copper mines of the country, for instance, that of Bor, one of the richest of the world.

The peasants cannot rest any hope on their present Government, for it is bound hand and foot to the capitalists of the Entente, and, in fact, exists only through their support; it is a Government kept in power through foreign assistance.

The workers and the peasants of Serbia, in their long martyrdom, have fully realised that their one hope of salvation lies, not merely in the overthrow of the present Government, which is both monarchical and highly bureaucratic; but in the introduction to their social life of a form of free government, that would give full play to their ideals of solidarity and justice, that is to say, the Soviet system of government. The whole tendency is already in that direction: the Soviet organisation has become their ideal and innermost desire.

Already we know that many Serbian soldiers have refused to fight against Soviet Hungary.

It is a hopeful sign the harbinger of greater deeds. The people's vengeance is slow, but it will come!

Parliament As We See It.

May 5th.—According to Mr. Forster men who are on leave from Russia *must* return at the expiration of their leave.

SCOTCH HOUSING.

A second reading was given to the Scottish Housing and Town Planning Bill. The Secretary for Scotland, Mr. Munro, in introducing the Bill told the House that in 1911 there were 129,730 one-roomed houses in Scotland, and 439,354 two-roomed houses. He added, however, "that the conditions are infinitely worse to-day than at the date when the Commission reported." The object of introducing this Bill was to secure that as many houses as possible be built at the earliest possible moment.

THE NEW WAR.

May 6th.—The total casualties in North Russia according to Mr. Churchill amount to four hundred and twenty-five. All unnecessary and wanton!

FOOD MINISTRY.

Mr. Roberts told the House that it was hoped that September 30th, 1919, would see the passing of the Food Ministry. Whether this is done to please the trader or the consumer, prices after September will show!

BUSINESS WITH SOVIETS.

May 7th.—In answer to Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy (L.) Mr. Harmsworth could give no undertaking in respect of granting facilities to business men to proceed to Soviet Russia.

"NONE BUT VOLUNTEERS!"

Major Borwick (C.U.) told the case of a captain in the R.A.M.C., who had declined to volunteer for Russia, but still was under orders to go. Mr. Churchill admitted that the facts were true; but that this man was required for "urgent duty for which no volunteers are available." He then said: "*I am certainly not prepared in any way to relax the claims which may be made upon a person holding the King's Commission in regard to a duty of real emergency connected with the rescue and extrication of a British force from a position of danger.*" Thus it seems that there is great elasticity in Mr. Churchill's assurance that "none but volunteers" will be sent to Russia!

RAILWAY FARES.

Various members drew attention to the retention of the fifty per cent increase in fares, and the inadequate service both locally and for long distances.

Sir A. Geddes assured the House that *he* knew all about these grievances, that *he* had travelled in the guard's van and also in a milk van! Still, so long as the old staff and rolling stock remained locked up "in essential services" nothing could be done. Meantime workers are forced to pay high fares and travel back and forward to work packed like sardines. When *will* the public learn self-respect?

INCOME TAX.

May 8th.—Mr. Arnold (L.) backed up by the Labour members made a strong appeal to raise the income tax limit from £130 to £250. The main arguments used were that £130 was now about £65 according to the pre-war value of money, that the income tax limit had been reduced during the war as a *war measure!* That the Excess Profits tax had been reduced to 40 per cent. Mr. Chamberlain assured the House that the war was not yet at an end; that "a bachelor has nobody but himself to provide for"; that if a £1 is worth 10*s.* to the worker it does not suddenly recover its value in the hands of the capitalist! Indeed, he said, "what is sauce for one is sauce for the other." Quite right; and if this principle is adhered to the people of small incomes and earnings will be more fairly treated. What Chancellors of the Exchequer fail to realise is that income-tax on small incomes, which are mostly spent on necessaries, is unjust because of the taxation on those necessaries. But the capitalist who is presented with 40 per cent is of course much more in need of sympathy!!!

SOLDIERS IN RUSSIA.

Commander Kenworthy (L.) told that he was the first to urge an expedition to the Murman Coast; but never dreamed that the troops "would push inland for some cause which has never been explained to us." Poor man, he must know very little of the history of imperialism and British imperialism in particular.

IRISH EDUCATION.

May 9th.—The Unionists introduced a Bill to provide schools for the Protestant children in Belfast, with the Belfast Corporation the authority with rights to levy rates. Naturally the relics of Nationalism opposed this strange measure. Mr. Devlin in his speech made a sporting offer to Sir E. Carson to join forces with him and have a rebellion! What a pity Mr. Devlin does not join his fellow countrymen the Sinn Feiners instead of wasting his energy and intelligence at Westminster!

M. O'C.

GERMAN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS.

In the report of the above Congress which appeared in *L'Humanité* on April 11th, Herr Däumig (extreme Left of Independent Socialist Party) replied to Herr Haase on the question of a Socialist Coalition Government.

Däumig's view was that the world-war had brought about the bankruptcy of the Capitalist system; "nothing short of an early realisation of Socialism could bring about the restoration of the cultural life of humanity." The November revolution in Germany had driven the imperialist potentates from power; yet capitalism and reaction were still alive, and the bourgeoisie still continued to exploit the people.

The revolution had taught the proletariat that its struggle for emancipation can only be carried on by a fighting organisation of the proletariat itself. The Workers' and Soldiers' Councils were the organisations necessary for this work. They alone can unite the proletarian masses. They alone will do the work of socialisation. They alone can put an end to the sterility of a bourgeois parliament, and abolish the worn out administrative machinery of Capitalism. The Independent Social Democratic Party accepted the system of workers' councils as its basis, and supported the workers' councils in their efforts to seize political and economic power. The Congress is convinced that the workers' councils are the only means by which proletarian unity can be achieved, a decisive struggle for the possession of political power carried on, and Socialism realised.

Therefore, the Congress gives a mandate to the organising Committee immediately to prepare a programme, instructing the party how to bring about the immediate transition from capitalism to Socialism. So long as all the proletarian masses have not been won over to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Independent Socialist Party of Germany must do all in its power to defend and to enlarge the revolutionary rights of the workers', peasants' and soldiers' councils.

This motion was referred to the Commission.

SALUTE THE COLOURS!

L'Humanité, April 24th, reports that when the band of a French Colonial regiment was passing down the Boulevard de la Victoire, Strasburg, an officer left the ranks and knocked off the cap of an elderly citizen who had been watching. *L'Echo de Strasburg* commenting on the incident, observed that in Alsace it has not been customary to salute the colours.

WOMEN'S DAY.

French Socialist women met on April 27th (Women's Day) in the Bellevilloix Hall, Paris, and unanimously adopted a resolution to send greetings to comrades who, in the countries of Revolution fought side by side with men condemning the counter-revolutionary policy of the French Government, urging the Socialist deputies to act against the intervention in Russia and the blockade. They further demanded an amnesty for political prisoners and the re-establishment of the freedom of public meetings and protested against the refusal of passports to the Women's Peace Conference.

A LOCK-OUT.

There is a lock-out at Messrs. Berwick & Co.'s engineering shop at Park Royal, N.W.10. The workers concerned have issued the following appeal to which we draw particular attention:—

FELLOW WORKERS,—We solicit your support, financially and otherwise, in our endeavour to defend a principle so vital to us all, namely, that we demand the right to hold a Shop Committee Meeting, at our own expense, whenever it may be necessary, in accordance with Clause 6 of the Shop Stewards Agreement.

Further, we demand the removal of all dilutees from the works, according to the Government definition.

Owing to our attitude in defending the above policy we now find ourselves forced upon the streets, due to the declaration of a Lock-out by the above firm.

If organisation means anything to the workers it should secure for us, at this hour, your earnest support in our endeavour to combat this autocratic power which has been demonstrated to the workers.

Fellow Workers, in conclusion, do you not recognise the danger even to you? Remember, an injury to one is an injury to all.

Comrades, Remember, the Trade Union motto is:—"United we stand, divided we fall." Let this be your foremost motto and we shall win.

On behalf Berwick's Shop Committee,

P. H. KEALEY, *Chairman.*
P. JEFFS, *Secretary.*

STARVATION IN ENGLISH PRISONS.

Some C.O.s recently released from prison report that they were so short of food during their incarceration, that they were reduced to eating the wax which they used for the thread given them for tailoring, and the glue used in their work.

One C.O. tells us that he used to put his towel under his bread, so that he could scrape the crumbs together, and on one of the tins he found scratched "You murderers, give us food."

I.L.P. RESOLUTION.

"The National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party strongly denounces the terms of the document misnamed a Peace Treaty, which the Allies have submitted to the German Republic. These terms violate the conditions of the Armistice. They are opposed to every public statement of the Allied aims in the war. They expose the real aims of the Allies, and the reason for the prolongation of the war as being the complete smashing of Germany, both politically and economically, and they involve the consequent impoverishment and economic ruin of Europe. They do not bring an end to militarism, but fasten the system more firmly on the peoples of the Allied countries. The terms prove that the military success which is claimed, has brought about the failure and loss of everything for which the peoples hoped when they were called upon to make the stupendous sacrifices entailed by the war, and they are a complete negation and betrayal of democracy. The treaty is a capitalist, militarist and imperialist imposition. It aggravates every evil which existed before 1914. It does not give the world peace, but, the certainty of other and more calamitous wars.

THE CHECKWEIGHING BILL.

The Government has adopted and promised to pass the Labour Party's checkweighing Bill, which gives workers paid by the weight of the goods they handle the right to appoint someone to weigh the goods on their behalf. Mr. Hirst, the Labour Member for Yorkshire, said that the practice had been in force in coal mines since the Act of 1860. Mr. Hodge, still styled a Labour M.P., declared that he was against industrial warfare, and that the Bill would be "a protection to employers." Now that the more advanced Trade and Industrial Unions are demanding payment by flat-rate, and the abolition of piece rates we should be obliged to regard the Bill as out of date, even if the Soviet Revolution had not begun.

IMPORTANT.

All Newsagents and Railway Bookstalls throughout the country will supply "The Workers' Dreadnought" if you only place your order. The paper is *now* on "sale or return."

COERCION IN INDIA.

PUBLIC MEETING

TO EXPLAIN

THE COERCION BILLS

Known as the Rowlatt Bills, the chief cause of the unrest in India.

FRIDAY, MAY 23rd, at 8 p.m., at the KINGSWAY HALL, KINGSWAY, W.C.

Speakers will include

Miss Maude Royden, Col. J. C. Wedgwood, M.P., Mr. George Lansbury.

A Resolution of Protest against the Bills will be submitted to the meeting.

Admission Free. Collection.

Under the auspices of the British Committee Indian National Congress, Home Rule for India League, Britain and India, National Council for Civil Liberties.

AT THE BOMB SHOP.

NIKOLAI GOGOL — *Post Paid.*
DEAD SOULS — Cloth 6s. 6d.
The greatest humorous novel in the Russian language.
ANTON CHEKHOV — 1s. 2d.
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TALES OF THE REVOLUTION [1905]
PETER KROPOTKIN — Cloth 2s.
THE CONQUEST OF BREAD

HENDERSONS, 66 Charing Cross Rd., London.

THE FRENCH WHO RETURN FROM RUSSIA

On January 12th, 1919, copies of the following notice, typed by Mlle. Marguerite Grandolément, were put up on the door of the French Church in Moscow, and read out in the sermon by the Abbé Vidal:—

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

By order of the French Government, the Comité Français formally invites all its compatriots to return to France.

The Government of the Republic undertakes to send back those who cannot pay the cost of travelling and to find work in France for those who are fit for it, and a refuge for the necessitous. It will welcome the French from Moscow as it has the refugees from the invaded French provinces.

No protection, no help in provisions or money are assured to those who remain in Moscow.

They will remain at their own risk and peril.

They should consider seriously the very grave contingency of these risks and perils.

This is the last notice.

It is urgent to register for the departure.

These registrations are received at the French Refuge. THE FRENCH COMMITTEE.

Moscow, January 11th, 1919.

After this warning the old people at the hospital of St. Dorothea and the women teachers of the French School in Moscow, to the number of 114, decided to leave. When they arrived in Paris there were only 76. A young girl who was dying had been left behind in Christiania; 26 people had been laid up with influenza in Bergen; and an old man had been left to die in London.

In Paris the 76 were sent to a Refuge in the Rue d'Hauteville, from which they were turned away. The Head Office of the Police declared itself incompetent to deal with them. Mayors refused to make grants to them. Refuge shelters refused to receive them. The women had to choose between prostitution and suicide.

The *Populaire* of April 3rd reports that the first refugees from Russia arrived on October 8th, and that six of them had committed suicide up to March 23rd. The *Populaire* publishes the statement of one of the refugees, Mlle. Guillot, brought up in Petrograd in the International Home of Schouvalon; she writes:—

"When I left Petrograd I had a post with a Russo-Belgian firm....I earned 700 roubles a month....The French Consulate forced me to leave, saying that in Paris everything was organised to receive the refugees from Russia and that I would find a situation there, while, if I remained in Petrograd, the Consulate would not protect me. There was nothing left to me but to leave. When I arrived here on Saturday, March 8th, at 11 o'clock at night, at the Saint-Lazare station I had to sleep in the waiting-room. The next day at 9 o'clock a motor-car took us to Saint-Sulpice, *where they refused to receive us.* In all Paris it was impossible to find a refuge....A lady, Madame P., very kindly took me in; I am still with her."

"I am ill, without any resources....I was refused a grant," writes Madame Cunty, Rue Sadi-Carnot, at Bagnolet. "I have been unable to find work. Has one to come to France to die of hunger?"

A poor old woman of 85 was abandoned without resources at Volvic; some charitable people came to her assistance.

The French Government would not even allow its countrymen to change their Russian money, the savings of years, in many cases, into French money.

Refugees declare that when they left Moscow it was impossible to find French money; there was none at the Consulate, and the exchange at the Comité Français was closed; also that the official of the convoy advised them not to change their money on the way as the exchange would be better in Paris. The naval agent in Bergen confirmed this fact.

The refugees regret; they say: "The real Russians, always kind towards us, had offered to all of us, without exception, to share their last piece of bread with us....It is a great pity that we did not stay there. We are only waiting for the time when it will be possible for us to recross the frontier to fly to that kind and hospitable country."

ULTOR.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliaments, and substitution of a World Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum. Write to the Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3. Telephone East 1787.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUTDOOR.

FRIDAY, MAY 16th.

Tower Hill.—12 (noon), Miss O'Neill.

SATURDAY, MAY 17th.

Great Push against Conscription and for a People's Peace in Lewisham and Camberwell.—Meetings 3 P.M., Lewisham Market Place; 6.30 P.M., Camberwell Green. Speakers, Miss Birch, Miss O'Neill, Mrs. Walker, Harry Pollitt (6.30 P.M. only).

SUNDAY, MAY 18th.

Osborn Street, Whitechapel—11.45 A.M., Miss O'Neill, J. G. Stone.

Piggott Street, Poplar.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.

Dock Gates, Poplar.—7 P.M., Harry Pollitt. Chair, Mrs. Walker.

FRIDAY, MAY 23rd.

The Square, Woolwich.—12 (noon), Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, MAY 24th.

Great Push in Walthamstow.

INDOOR.

FRIDAY, MAY 16th.

400, Old Ford Road.—8 P.M., General Meeting (London Section).

FRIDAY, MAY 23rd.

20, Railway Street.—7.45 P.M., Speakers' Class.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

TUESDAY, MAY 20th.

Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—3 P.M., Mrs. Edmunds and others.

FRIDAY, MAY 16th AND 23rd.

East London Workers' Committee, 400, Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M.

SHEFFIELD.

SUNDAY, 18th, 11.15 a.m.

Westbar, H. R. Goldstone, T. James. Chair, A. Carford.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.—Irene, per Mrs. Drake (£1 weekly) £5. COLLECTIONS: St. Stephens Road, 5s. 8½d.; Bow Branch, 4s. 6d.; Tower Hill, 1s. 2d.

SOCIAL WORK.—Miss Miriam Glikstein, £4; Nurse Hebbes (10s. weekly), £1; Mrs. Richmond (monthly), £1; per Miss J. E. Weir (monthly), £1. COLLECTIONS: Misses E. Lagsding and J. Watts (Green's Yard), 15s. 11d.

FLOWERS: Mrs. Napier. CLOTHES AND TOYS: Mrs. Schurr.

Walthamstow Women's Co-operative Guild, 3s., for children's dinners at Poplar Restaurant.

W.S.F. NOTES.

POPLAR SOCIALIST CYCLING CLUB

(incorporated with the Workers' Socialist Federation, Poplar Branch).

Sunday, May 18th.—Run to Maidenhead, Berkshire. Meet at Poplar Station (N.L. Ry.), 9 o'clock sharp.

Sunday, May 25th.—Run to Stamford Rivers, Essex. Meet at Poplar Station (N.L. Ry.), 9 o'clock sharp. (New members invited.)

Sunday June 1st.—Captain's "Surprise Run." Meet at Poplar Station (N.L. Ry.), 9 o'clock sharp. (New members invited.)

Saturday, June 8th.—Week-end run to Southend-on-Sea. Assemble at Poplar Station, 4 P.M. sharp. (New members invited.)

A DAY IN THE COUNTRY.

Mrs. Lamartine Yates has very kindly promised on Whit Monday, June 9th, to throw open her beautiful garden at Merton, Surrey, to W.S.F. members and friends. It is hoped that many friends will take advantage of this opportunity to spend an enjoyable day, and apply early for tickets (price 1s. 6d.) to Miss Hebbes, 400, Old Ford Road, E.3.

Give this Paper to a Friend.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS.

Classified advertisements one penny per word. Displayed advertisements 7s. 6d. per inch. Pre-pay and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster.

RUSSIAN LESSONS given by Russian lady. First class teacher, University education.—Apply Box 99, this Office.

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INDOOR MEETINGS

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CITY I.L.P.

DEBATE

FRED JOWETT AND SYLVIA PANKHURST ON THE SOVIET FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

Friday, May 23rd, at 7.30 p.m.

CHANDOS HALL, MAIDEN LANE, STRAND, LONDON.

TICKETS 6d.

From ARTHUR FIELD, 18 Featherstone Bldgs, Holborn, W.C.

Why not Unemployment Benefit for ALL Children until they are strong enough to Work and old enough to Vote? [Advert.

INJUSTICE TO RUSSIANS.

We give below an extract from the Memorandum which the Russian Delegates Committee has sent to the Home Secretary. This Committee was formed to look after the interests of Russian refugees in this country. After pointing out the work it has done up to now, the Committee gives the following facts about the unjust and panicky arrests of Russians who have sought an asylum in this country:—

...."To our great surprise, we find *that some of these political refugees have been arrested without any charge being preferred against any of them and without any reason being given.* These unfortunate men have been arrested *without any warning with a view to their deportation.* They have not been given any opportunity whatsoever to prepare for their journey and they have been kept in Brixton Prison for some weeks. Their treatment in prison is, we are informed, very bad, and they are even allowed to be mixed with criminals. We must beg leave to protest in the strongest possible manner against such a procedure. The political refugees for whom we are responsible are most anxious to return to Russia as soon as possible, but they are politicals and not criminals. They wish to be *repatriated* and not to be deported. They are entitled to be treated as law abiding citizens of a foreign country. They have not broken the laws of this country and have not interfered with the police or other authorities. They have lived quite openly and have not made any attempt to escape the lawful supervision of the police. It surely cannot therefore be right to arrest them without any warning at the very time *when the authorities* are considering ways and means of *giving us the Funds to arrange for their repatriation.* On consideration, we trust you will see that a great wrong has been done and we ask that the political emigrants should forthwith be released. We repeat that they will be prepared to proceed to Russia as soon as facilities are granted and reasonable notice of time of departure is given....In the meantime, we hope and trust that the repatriation will be arranged as soon as possible, and pending same, our members will at once be released from Brixton Prison and that no similar arrests will be permitted in the future."

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